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The Origin of the Gospel According to St. John

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY

Professor in the Philadelphia Divinity School
and the University of Pennsylvania

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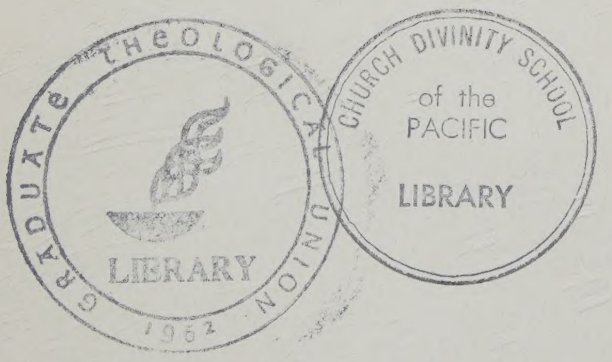

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PREFACE

This paper was prepared for and presented to the May meeting of the Philadelphia Clericus, a private club of clergy of the Episcopal Church. My colleagues were very indulgent in listening to the somewhat ponderous thesis and kindly in their discussion of it. Some of the members desired to see the paper in print, and generously offered to have it published. At first I demurred, as I felt that my sole purpose was accomplished in that presentation of the essay and that my reward lay in their acceptance of it. However, it is herewith evident that I yielded to my friends' insistence.

In doing so I determined that I would leave the paper as I read it, with no essential changes, making only a very few additions which had since come to my mind independently, and unloading the Greek citations as much as possible. I am aware that such a theme is worthy of a book, but I am not so conscious that the present writer is so worthy. "Of making many books there is no end" in Johannine criticism, and I feel that I have said what I have to say and in the way I wished to say it. I am quite skeptical whether another book is necessary, whereas, perhaps, a brief monograph like this may be readable and useful for laymen in the subject. Its inadequacy may be compensated for by its compactness and, I trust, a certain spontaneous freshness of view.

For the essay is wholly an independent study, undertaken primarily for my own and my colleagues' satisfaction. Last October I decided to prepare the paper, and had my main theme in mind, when, just two weeks later, appeared the notice of Professor Burney's new book, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*. I at once procured it, but have not read it at all, and do not know its argumentation, even now as I write this Preface. I have equally ignored all the commentators on the Gospel, all the handbooks and monographs relating thereto, applying myself to purely philological helps and to such knowledge as I had at hand, and such references as have chanced my way. Accordingly I can justly speak of independence and freshness. Much will be desiderated by the critical reader. I have avoided the problems of textual criticism, confining myself, unless otherwise indicated, to the text of Westcott-Hort (abbreviated as WH), as also the problem of the integrity and original order of the Gospel. Controversy with other positions would have swollen the paper to an inordinate size and destroyed its value to those I wish to reach. If such read it, I am satisfied. If expert critics notice it with praise or blame, I am more than complimented.

Philadelphia, June 8, 1923. JAMES A. MONTGOMERY.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. JOHN

This essay is written with the purpose of probing the value of "the Fourth Gospel" as an historical document. It is written by one who is utterly inexpert in Johannine criticism. It would confront the theory that appears to obtain among intelligent laymen in the subject, a theory that has filtered down—how far correctly I am not prepared to say—from the treatment of that Gospel by expert scholars.

This prevailing theory may be stated as follows. The Gospel is a non-Palestinian product, probably of Anatolian (Asia Minor) origin—so far the ecclesiastical tradition of a John of Ephesus may be accepted; it is essentially Hellenic, not Judaic, in style and language and thought. It is late in composition, removed by some generations from that of the Lord. In a word, it is a romance. It contains possibly some correct historical traditions, but at second or third hand; yet this element of history is overwhelmed by an artificial construction of fact and atmosphere which wholly distorts the historical kernel.

The essay would meet one article of that thesis: Is the Gospel a Palestinian product or not? My question involves neither composition in Palestine, nor date of the composition, nor problem of authorship.[1] If it is a product alien to Palestine, its scenery, history, language and religion, the correctness of its evangelical tradition must be rigorously criticized, if not discounted. If on the other hand it can be shown to correspond to the historical Palestinian milieu which it professes to present, the current theory of the Gospel must be subjected to equal criticism.

My present thesis will be found to work out in the direction of the establishment of the Palestinian origin of the Gospel—

[1] I may have academically "declassed" myself by using the name "Gospel of St. John" in the title. I have done so advisedly, but, I would have it understood, without any reference to the authorship, which theme I in no way touch upon. I frankly think that "Fourth Gospel" is a scholastic affectation. Why not the First, Second, and Third Gospels? Are we any surer of their authors? Any tyro knows that Deuteronomy is not "the Second Giving of the Law", but are we obliged to make constant profession of our critical attainments by calling that document the Fifth Book of Pseudo-Moses?

Palestinian in the sense that the writer was a well-informed Palestinian, wherever his habitat when he wrote the book. I come to the conclusion that the writer possessed a true memory of the Palestine of the first half of the first century. My purpose and my method are philological. Theologumena enter only as historical data. I do not moot the question of the veracity of the Gospel in its presentation of the life of the Lord and in its handling of his alleged teaching. Those questions are for the theologian. But neither prejudice nor extreme of theological finesse in reconstructions of the Gospel, in the way of telling us how the Gospel must have been written, can avoid the philological data, which are fundamental to both criticism and theology.

In my procedure I will begin with the material element of geography; I will then consider the historical data, continuing with the picture presented of the Jewish Church. Next comes a study of the language of the book, inquiring into its possibly Palestinian and Aramaic character; this is my only original contribution to the subject in hand. And finally I inquire into the theological terms and ideas of the book—not how far they represent the Jesus one might wish to reconstruct, but how far they are representative of the Palestinian Judaism of the early generations of the first century.

1. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

It is only necessary briefly to recall the wealth and detail of the Johannine geography, which is in striking contrast to the meagreness and vagueness of the Synoptics. The historicity of the author's routing of Jesus through Palestine is not the philologian's problem; the latter simply inquires whether the author knew his Palestine.

Apart from the evangelical commonplaces of Judæa, Samaria, Galilee, Across-Jordan, the Jordan and Lake of Galilee, Jerusalem, Bethany, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Capernaum, etc., we find the following original data: Bethabara beyond Jordan (1, 28),[1] Ænon near Salem, the city Ephraim (places unidentified, but correct Semitic place-names),[2] "a city of Samaria called Sychar", hard by Jacob's Well, with the accompanying reference to the holy mountain of the Samaritans. Jacob's Well is not a datum of the Old Testament, and belongs rather to the Samaritan than to the Jewish tradition. Sychar, both as name and place, is variously explained; it may be a perversion of Shechem (by textual error or as a punning epithet), or it may be the site of the elder Shechem, which later moved farther west between Ebal and Gerizim.[3]

In geographical terminology the Gospel follows Semitic usage in calling the uplands "the mountain" (Heb. *ha-har*), 6, 3, and the Lake of Galilee a "sea", θάλασσα (Heb. *yam*). In 6, 1

[1] WH prefers the reading "Bethany", and rejects "Bethabara"; so Thayer and Preuschen, arguing that the change was made arbitrarily by Origen, who found a Bethabara and not a Bethany. But the Curetonian-Sinaitic Syriac has, versus the Peshitto, Beth-'ebre (which without the points could be read exactly as the Greek), and are we to suppose Origenian influence in that early text? Bethabara, "the place of the ford", is doubtless to be identified with the Beth-bara of Jud. 7, 24 (the word being shortened from original Beth-'abara). The identity is not noticed so far as I see by Old Testament commentators.

[2] Every student of the geographical criticism of Jewish writings, from the Old Testament down to Josephus, is aware of the lack of identifications especially in Samaria. The difference between the archæologist and the literary critic appears to be this: that the former hopes ultimately to make the identifications, the latter is not anxious to do so.

[3] See G. A. Smith's chapter on the subject in his *Historical Geography*, and my *Samaritans* (Philadelphia, 1907), pp. 20, 157. Acts 8, 5 is far less explicit as to which "city of Samaria" is meant. Another instance of Samaritan tradition is found in Stephen's speech, Acts 7, 15 f.

this lake is called ἡ θάλασσα τῆς Γαλιλαίας τῆς Τιβεριάδος, in 20, 1 simply Sea of Tiberias. If the former phrase is textually authentic, the construction of the two genitives is Aramaic, not Greek; the use of both names exhibits the author's knowledge of the change of names in the first century. As Tiberias was certainly founded in the third decade of that century, there is no reason for skepticism in regard to the author's use of the later name.

There is particular knowledge of Jerusalem and its vicinity, e. g., the Torrent-bed of the Kedron, χείμαρρος τῶν Κέδρων, 18, 1,[4] the Pool of Siloam, with note of its Hebrew etymology; the Sheep Gate doubtless to be connected with Nehemiah's Sheep Gate on the north of the temple, along with the accompanying Pool of Bethesda, "House of Mercy",[5] a pool which has now been located in the property of St. Ann's Church, with remains of what the White Fathers believe to be the five stoas mentioned in the account. The topography of the temple is known, e. g., the Treasury (so Mk. 12, 41, in another connection), and the Stoa of Solomon (also Acts 5, 12).

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[4] So occasionally the Septuagint, and one of the few instances of correspondence with the Greek translation. The ingenuity of the promoters of a recent Passion Play at, I think, Turin, in improvising a rushing brook and a bridge for the holy party to cross to Gethsemane, was laudable but geographically and financially extravagant.

[5] Other variants to the name are Bethzatha (so WH), Bethsaida.

2. HISTORICAL DATA

The Gospel presents few additional historical data of a political order. We have to note the reference to Caiaphas "being high priest that year", 11, 49, and the datum in 2, 20 that the temple had been forty-six years in building. According to Schürer this would make the date of the scene A. D. 27 or preferably 28, which would be actually the first year of the Lord's ministry, according to one of the accepted chronologies of his life.[1] As to the order of events in Jesus' ministry, that again lies beyond the philologian's task. I therefore omit the problems of the year of the cleansing of the temple and the day of the crucifixion. It may be observed that the author moves with sovereign assurance in the historical argument of the book, and prejudice for or against his outline must be subject to philological criticism.

But it is noteworthy that a book so mystical in its religion, so transcendental in its theology—such is the current censure of many critics—is so full of personal anecdote and allusion. The nearest and the instructive parallel is the picture of Socrates and his friends in the Platonic dialogues.[2] To review the list of details we may begin with the relations of Jesus to John Baptist, whose figure still haunts the book long after his person has disappeared (c. 1; 3, 23; 5, 32; 8, 40), a stress as to the Baptist's commanding

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[1] See Schürer, *Geschichte d. jüd. Volkes*, ed. 4, vol. 1, p. 369. The commonplace "forty-six" does not lend itself agreeably to the interpretation of the mystagogues, like Christopher Wordsworth, who found some holy numerical squares in the "153 fishes", or Pfleiderer, who identified the seven husbands of the woman of Samaria with the seven nations imported into Samaria, 2 Ki. 17. Had Dr. Pfleiderer lived in America he would not have been so much surprised at the lady's matrimonial vicissitudes. Or are we to suppose that the otherwise "ill-informed" author of the Gospel did some *nachschlagen* in one of the copies of Josephus's *Antiquities* presented by Titus to the provincial capitals?

[2] Years ago I read Eduard Meyer's brilliant picture of the Golden Age of Athens in his *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. iv, and have borne in mind his appreciation of Plato as a prime authority for Socrates, superior to Xenophon, despite the former's idealization. He says, p. 439: "It is universally recognized that Plato gives the immeasurably deeper conception of Socrates and gained a view of him, in his very being, to an extent of which the matter-of-fact (*nüchtern*) Xenophon had no inkling . . . It would be a gross perversion if we undertook to draw a picture of Socrates exclusively on Xenophon's authority." The parallel with the comparison between the Synoptics and St. John is obvious.

importance which is corroborated from other quarters.[3] There are the anecdotes of the call of the Apostles, including Nathanael, c. 1, the latter being casually named as "of Cana of Galilee" in 21, 2; of the conversation with Nicodemus, c. 3, who appears again as his advocate against the Pharisees, 7, 50, and as one who helped bury him, 19, 39; constantly of Simon Peter, always so called with his Hebrew name first (even as he is known as Symeon in the early document behind Acts 15), and with his patronymic "bar John," 1, 42; 21, 15. Also Peter functions as the leading Apostle, even as in the Synoptics, e. g., 6, 68 ff. We find the colloquies with Andrew, 6, 8; with Peter, Thomas, and Philip "of Bethsaida", at the Last Supper, cc. 13–14; with the disciples called by name in the post-Resurrection scene in c. 21. Judas Iscariot is known as the son of Simon, and Thomas is almost always surnamed Didymus. The intimate relations with Mary and Martha, the sisters of Lazarus, with Mary Magdalen after the Resurrection, require only allusion. There is one mysterious figure, the disciple whom Jesus loved, who leaned upon his breast at the Last Supper. Is he a dramatic figment, and if not, why the cryptic allusion? It must be noticed that the Apostle John—one of the Pillars of the Church according to St. Paul—is never named; we only hear once of the sons of Zebedee, 21, 2. Finally the dialogue with Pilate cannot be ignored.[4]

Of Jesus' family history nothing is directly said, yet despite his transcendental notion of the Lord the author recalls "his brothers", who did not believe in him, 8, 3 ff, and quotes his incredulous fellow-citizens: "Is not this Jesus bar Joseph, whose father and mother we know?", 6, 42, cf. 1, 45.

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[3] The Hellenic critics of the Gospel lay stress upon the presence of a "Baptist" community at Ephesus. They forget that a sect of the same "denomination" still survives in Mesopotamia, which probably carries back its genealogy well into the evangelical period. I was interested, subsequently to writing these words, to see that my opinion is corroborated by Lidzbarski. In his recent edition of the Mandaic liturgies with text and translation (*Mandäische Liturgien*, Berlin, 1920) he argues, pp. xix seq., for the close connection of the sect with Trans-Jordania. I might add to his argument from certain terms, the mystical Jordan, Hauran, Nebât (i. e. Nabatæans), which had led me to think in the same line, some marked similarities of script.

[4] None conversant with the history of the Near East can doubt offhand the triplicate title Pilate wrote for the cross, "in Hebrew and Latin and Greek". The postage stamps of Palestine, the types of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force, are surcharged, from above downwards, with "Palestine" in Arabic and English and Hebrew.

3. DATA BEARING ON JEWISH INSTITUTIONS

This title is logically a sub-division of the preceding one, but it is of sufficient importance to stand by itself. One of the most fertile fields, probably the most fertile field, of investigation for the New Testament is found in the Judaistic literature subsequent to the Old Testament and in the inexhaustible mines of Rabbinism. Fortunately there is a fixed epoch in the history of the first century, the destruction of Jerusalem, A. D. 70, which enables us to distinguish between earlier and later sources. Does the Gospel correspond to the conditions of Jewry as they are known to have been in the first two generations of that century?

One ancient doubt thrown on the Palestinian origin of the book is the author's constant use of the term "the Jews," alleged to be almost an offensive epithet for Jesus' enemies. It has hardly been observed that Nehemiah, the Jewish governor of Jerusalem, uses the same name for his own people, as does Josephus throughout. Up to A. D. 70 Jew was still a political name, meaning particularly the inhabitants of Judæa, to whom were contrasted not only the Greek-speaking Jews (called "Greeks", 12, 20), and the Samaritans, but also the Jewish Galilæans.[1] At the same time the writer correctly knows the esoteric, intimate name of the community within itself, that of "Israel", and so uses it uniquely among the Gospels: 1, 31, "that he might be revealed to Israel"; 1, 48, "Thou art an Israelite indeed in whom is no guile" (the word "Israel" is used in the Talmud of the individual Jew). Compare Gal. 6, 16.

In regard to the parties in Judaism we have the correct distinction as among priests and rulers and Pharisees, which classes are represented as acting separately or in concert; e. g., "many of the rulers believed, but feared the Pharisees", 12, 42. The Sadducees are not named.

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[1] "Jews" is similarly used in the Elephantine papyrus no. 1, in distinction from the rulers, just as in Rabbinic literature "Israel" is distinguished from the priests. One of the names for Judah in the Gospel was probably "House of the Jews", 11, 54, see below No. 4 d. To this day Jews still prefer the name "Jews", despite the "journalese" affectation of "Hebrews" or "Israelites".

The calendar feasts of the Jews are repeatedly named with exact particulars. Three distinct celebrations of the Passover are recorded (cc. 3, 6, 11 ff.). The feast of Booths is uniquely named in the Gospel, c. 7, and the writer knows of "the last day, the great day of the feast," to which datum the Talmud gives full corroboration. It was the day of the Water Drawing (not in the Biblical ritual), and as those who allow any historicity to the scene are aware, that rite may have given Jesus the text for his saying: "If anyone thirst, let him come unto me and drink," v. 37. The writer knows of the feast of the Dedication, and that it took place in the winter, 10, 22 ff. This feast is not in the Bible calendar, there is but a single reference to it in a Psalm title, and it was not frequented by pilgrims, occurring as it did in winter. The terms concerning the final Passover, "the Preparation of the Passover," 19, 14, and "great was the day of that Sabbath", have correct flavor. Note may be made of the several references to the purification customs of the Jews: 2, 6; 3, 25; 11, 55; cf. also 18, 28.

Intimate knowledge of the highpriestly family is displayed; the anonymous disciple is said to have been acquainted with the high priest. The frequent changes in the highpriestly succession, Annas, Caiaphas, etc., are vouched for by Rabbinic tradition. The claim of prophecy for the high priest in 11, 49—"being high priest that year he prophesied that Jesus must die"—has its parallel in the claim for Caiaphas's great predecessor John Hyrcanus that he was a prophet, a notion doubtless connected with the tradition of the Urim and Thummim with which the high priest was invested.

In regard to the Jewish politics of the time, I have been for long convinced in my study of Pharisaism that the crowning argument of the Pharisees against Pilate's indecision that then "thou art not a friend of Cæsar; everyone who makes himself a king speaks against Cæsar", and "we have no king but Cæsar" (19, 12. 15), expresses in a nutshell the Pharisaic politics, which was anti-Messianic and satisfied with the political status *in quo*. Indeed, from any worldly standpoint, Caiaphas's shrewd advice, 11, 47 ff, was above reproach.

It may be noted that the Jewish law of witness, which had its development in the first century B. C., is twice referred to—in Nicodemus's mouth, 7, 50 ff, and in Jesus' own words, 5, 31 ff.

Also of interest are the several references to excommunication: 9, 22. 34; 12, 42; 16, 2.

I have pointed out in my *Samaritans*, p. 155, that the Jewish jibe at Jesus, "Thou art a Samaritan and hast a devil", i. e., "art a fool", is illustrated from Ecclesiasticus 50, 26, "the foolish people that dwells at Shechem," and from the Talmud, in which "Samaritan" and "fool" are synonymous.

4. THE ARAMAIC BACKGROUND OF THE GOSPEL

I pass on now to what is for me the most interesting field of this study. It is also absolutely original—a feature which increases its interest to the writer but not its authority for others—as I have read no treatments of this subject, and, except for Burney's book, I do not know if any such treatments exist.

To avoid the appearance of prejudice in a field which contains much room for subjective impressions, I begin with sketching the process of my mind on this theme. Like any student of the New Testament I have acquired fairly definite ideas of the literary character of its books, individually and in groups. A Semitic student's sense is the more sharpened by his special studies, especially in the fields of Aramaic literature and in the Hellenistic-Judaic writings.

The New Testament fell for me into definite categories. There is the barbarous Semitic Greek of the Apocalypse. On a far higher level, speaking *graece*, stand the Synoptics, the first of which is traditionally reputed to be a translation of a Semitic original, the common basis of all of which is recognized by critics to have been a Palestinian product. How far the Semitic element in these Gospels is a literary quantum I would like to weigh again. The Biblical references and citations in St. Matthew, the Infancy chapters in St. Luke, the undoubtedly true reports of much of Jesus' alleged teachings, all tend to give a Semitic coloring to the whole body of the Synoptics; whether or not this coloring is as patent in the framework of the several books I am not prepared to say.

Much of Acts stands very much in the same grouping. While there is excellent reason to believe with Professor Torrey that the first half of Acts depends upon an Aramaic original,[1] the Hellenistic composer of the whole book has fairly well disguised the origin of his traditions. The Epistles in general are composed in plain Hellenistic Greek, with no particular Aramaic or Semitic coloring, written as they were in the actual language of the Hellenistic world. This is true not only of Paul, the Jew from Asia

[1] C. C. Torrey, *The Composition and Date of Acts*, Harvard Univ. Press, 1916.

Minor, but also of the Epistle of James, to my mind a Palestinian product, yet betraying to my knowledge only one Aramaism.[2] At the extreme of the attempt at elegant writing stand Hebrews, a fine example of Alexandrian style, and the editorial work of the Lucan author, which suggests classical models.

Among these groups the Johannine writings appeared to me to present a very simple and yet correct Greek. I would have thought, somewhat superficially, that a beginner might do better for initiation into the Greek New Testament through the Fourth Gospel than through many of the other documents with their apparently provincial stylisms. Moffatt remarks on the repetitious rather tiresome style of these writings; indeed their style is just artless, often almost childlike, yet not barbarous.[3]

And so I confess that only recently there flashed upon my mind the notion that the style and other philological features of the Gospel suggest a Semitic, and specifically an Aramaic origin. I had long cherished a prepossession for the historical validity of the tangible data of the book, but this judgment I knew to be open to the influence of prejudice; I was unexpectant of any philological corroboration, and felt, probably too cautiously, that this lack militated against the historical claims of the Gospel. Yet I knew that a Palestinian or Jerusalemite Jew could write good Greek, just as an Isaac Zangwill or a Judge Sulzberger can compose brilliant English. Barbarous Greek was not necessary for an authentic evangelical historian. However, the notion which came to me was a sudden, automatic impression, originating from the well-known data in my mind, and was not the result of purposed logic with all its pitfalls.

What follows is an attempt at induction towards proving out that theory.

(*a*) Greek Interpretations of Semitic Words

The Gospel is unique in its presentation of Semitic words, with almost invariably their Greek translations. I note the following cases.

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[2] 1, 1: "the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, of glory"; cf. the comment under § 1 on "the sea of Galilee, of Tiberias". Josephus the Jerusalemite wrote, with expert advice, in the bombastic literary style of current Hellenism with hardly a betrayal of his origin; but one Aramaism has been detected.

[3] Is not this simplicity of style essentially Semitic, and in particular Aramaic? Our Gospel is most similar stylistically to the Aramaic stories in Daniel.

For geographical names we find: Siloam = "sent"; Gabbatha = "pavement"; and in company with the Synoptic tradition, Golgotha = "the skull".

For titles: Rabbi and Rabboni (the latter Aramaic) = "teacher", the former appearing seven times in the Gospel, the latter unique in the Testament; Christos = "Messiah", twice, and *solus* in the Testament. Also note the constant interpretation of Thomas by Didymus, also *solus*.

To five or six of these interpretations the Gospel adds "Hebrew-wise" (ἑβραιστί), a word which appears elsewhere only twice, in Revelation. (The terms "Hebrew" and "Aramaic" ["Syrian"] were used indifferently.)

The unique doubling, "Amen, Amen" ("verily, verily") occurs 25 times, while the other Gospels use, much more sparingly, the single "Amen". There may be an Aramaic background to this reiteration; cf. *bish, bish*, "very bad"; *had, had*, "each single one"; *meddem, meddem*, "anything at all".

That characteristic term of this Gospel, the Paraclete, was early domesticated in the Jewish dialects; it is found in the oldest tractate of the Mishnah, in Pirke Aboth, ed. Taylor, 4, 11, where the word in the sense of "advocate" is put in the mouth of a teacher of the latter part of the first century. The word may have been actually used by Jesus himself in his Aramaic discourse.[4]

The only Latin terms used are Prætorium and φραγέλλιον = "flagellum", the former in concord with the Synoptic tradition, the latter independently, but the corresponding verb appears in the Synoptic narrative of the Trial. Both of these words were domesticated in the Aramaic, being found in the Syriac dialect.

(*b*) Aramaic Idioms in Words and Phrases

There is an idiom which is distinctly Aramaic and which I have been interested in following up in Biblical Aramaic, in Hebrew (under Aramaic influence), and in Syriac. It is an idiom which has often been ignored by Old Testament commentators, and the recognition of it clears up one Hebrew passage on the misunderstanding of which an English scholar has built up an ingenious theory. This is the use of a term indicating place after a geographical name to indicate that it is a place, country, city,

[4] For the early introduction of Greek legal terms into the Palestinian vernacular, see Schürer, *op. cit.* 2, pp. 59 f.

village, etc. It is a usage which is called in Assyriology a determinative, the determinative (the sign *ki*) being written after the name and probably pronounced with the appropriate word; the Aramaic dialects fell heir to the usage. For instance, we have in Esther 1, 2 and Daniel 8, 2, "Shushan the fortress", i. e., *anglice* "the fortress (garrison city) Shushan"; similarly the Elephantine papyri use "Yeb the fortress"; the Syriac speaks of "Pontus the place," Acts 18, 2; etc.[5] Some examples of this idiom are found in our Gospel; and it appears as if the writer were at least thinking in Aramaic.

In 11, 54, Jesus goes "to Ephraim so-called city", εἰς Ἐφραὶμ λεγομένην πόλιν, RV "into a city called Ephraim"; i. e., the writer thought "Ephraim *medinta*", the city Ephraim. In 7, 42 we read in RV of "Bethlehem, the village where David was"; but why not then, "B. the village of David"? But translate: "the village Bethlehem where D. was". And I am inclined to think that ὁ λεγόμενος κρανίου τόπος, 19, 17 (cf. the Synoptics) contains the same idiom: "the place Skull."

In 11, 1 occurs the remarkably clumsy sentence: "There was a certain man who was sick, Lazarus from (απο) Bethany of (εκ) the village of Mary and Martha her sister." What we would expect is: "Lazarus from Bethany-the-village, the brother of Mary and Martha." And such actually is the rendering in the Syriac translations, the Curetonian and the Peshitto. (It would be agreeable to think that the Syriac had a better Greek copy than what has survived in our Greek texts.) At all events the idiom we are observing clears up the initial difficulty of "from Bethany of the village"— understand "from Bethany the village" —and it looks as if the erroneous attempt through some hand to

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[5] Paton, on Esther 1, 2, ignores this usage in "Shushan the fortress"; he holds that "fortress" is epexegetical to "Sh.", i. e., the citadel as distinguished from the city. But he finds himself in trouble at 2, 5! Similarly Batten, on Ezra 8, 17, stumbles at "Casiphia the place" (English versions, "the place Casiphia"), and would unnecessarily delete "place" as a Babylonism. On the same phrase L. E. Browne, M.A., has contributed an article to the *Journal of Theological Studies*, July, 1916, entitled "A Jewish Sanctuary in Babylon", summed up again in his very suggestive book, *Early Judaism* (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 53f. He constructs a theory on *makam*, "place" = "sanctuary", following a good Semitic denotation, and argues that the Jews had a temple at Casiphia. But this theory must fall before the recognition of the current Aramaic use of the word.

give construction to the detached "of the village" by construing it with the sisters' names helped to dislodge the original order.[6]

A somewhat kindred usage appears in 3, 1, Νικόδημος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, "Nicodemus by name," which has its parallel in Ezra 5, 14, "Sheshbazzar his name". Therefore there is no *philological* reason with commentators to delete "his name". The same use is frequent in the Elephantine Aramaic papyri, e. g., repeatedly in Sachau, Pap. 5. The Curetonian Syriac has, "a Pharisee, his name was Nicodemus"; the Peshitto, "a Ph., N. his name was"; the Palestinian-Syriac, "a Ph. his name N.".

The following Semitic constructions appear: the use of the infinitive absolute is represented in "he rejoices with joy", 3, 29, RV "rejoices greatly"; in the characteristic "son of perdition", 17, 11 (= "son of Belial"?—which however is not so translated in the Septuagint); in the use of a plural verb with a singular subject, "this multitude which knows not the law are accursed", 7, 49. Also note the plurals αἵματα "blood", and ὕδατα "water", the former found elsewhere only in Rev., the latter but once in Matt., and in Rev. several times. The phrase "living water", primarily "fresh water", 4, 11; 7, 38, is Semitic, and occurs again only in Rev. 7, 17, where RV wrongly has "waters of life".

I note also the expression πρῶτός μου, "before me", 1, 15; the play on τὸ πνεῦμα, "wind: spirit", 3, 8; and the two cases where the subject is thrown, apparently without warrant, to the end of the sentence; 3, 24, "John"; 13, 2, "Judas", for which I find parallels in Biblical Aramaic and Syriac. Also the following Semitic-looking cases: the plural in εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, 6, 66; "he spake-of (ἔλεγεν) the Father to them", cf. the similar use of *'amar* = λέγειν in Jud. 7, 4; the impersonal use of the plural verb in 12, 16: "When Jesus was glorified then the disciples remembered that such things were written about him and these things they did to him", i. e., "were done to him"—peculiarly Aramaic; imperatives construed asyndeton, 5, 8, "Rise, take up". The passage in 15, 16 does not mean "I appointed you that ye should go (off) and bear fruit", but "that ye should go on bearing fruit", the Greek word for "go" representing the Hebrew and Aramaic

[6] If we might surmise an Aramaic original here, we could suppose, beginning with "of Mary": "who was to (*dil*) Mary the brother and to Martha her sister;" *dil* being understood as genitival instead of relative, caused the omission of "brother". But it is dangerous to restore the obvious!

halak, which is used commonly in the sense "to go on doing". The Semitic partitive use of the preposition *min*, "of", ἐκ, appears in 16, 17: "(Some) of (ἐκ) his disciples said to him". Cf. 6, 39: "it is the will of him who sent me that *all* (πᾶν, neuter, 'everything', Semitic *kol*) which he has given me I should not lose *of it* (ἐξ αὐτοῦ)", in which the marked phrases are emphatically Semitic.

As a matter of curiosity I may note one case of absolute identity with a phrase in the Aramaic Elephantine papyri. The conditional clause in 3, 2: "None can do these signs *unless God be with him*," is identical with a maxim in the Ahikar papyri (Sachau, Pap. 54, line 13, page 163): "Who can stand before him (i. e., the king) but he whom God is with?"[7]

(*c*) Idioms of Predicate Construction

Here I acknowledge I tread on delicate ground. Anyone who knows Septuagintal philology is aware how difficult it is to decide what is Greek and what directly Semitic. The statistics and parallelism with other monuments of Hellenistic literature should be worked out more carefully than I can do at present, and my attempts are open to large criticism. I may only provisionally present the superficial testimony for certain Semitisms of predicate construction.

There is one Aramaic idiom which is unique to that dialect among the Semitic tongues; this is its use of the participle active with, or without, the verb "to be", in a way similar to the English periphrastic use, "I am doing, I was doing," or in futuritive sense, "I am going to do". The participle is timeless, its tense is discovered only from the circumstances, and it gives the most picturesque construction found in the Aramaic, presenting the action as vividly going on.

In the first place is to be observed the constant use of the Greek perfects and imperfects throughout the book. As regards the imperfect, the contrast is obvious as against the Synoptic use of the aorist. This stylism is not carried on throughout,[8] yet the

[7] I had so translated this phrase myself, and subsequently found that such was Nöldeke's rendering.

[8] An example where the aorist is used is in 11, 35, "Jesus wept"; how much more pathetic is the translation of the Syriac: "The tears of Jesus were coming". There is no question here when he began to weep, but someone looked at him and saw the tears coursing down his face.

imperfect is constantly cropping up in contrast to the aorists in the neighborhood. Thus while we find the Synoptic formula, "answered and said", in aorists, e. g., 2, 18; 18, 19, still more often we find cases where the aorist in the first place is followed by an imperfect. For example, with cases taken at random: "The Jews surrounded (aorist) him and were saying (imperfect) to him", 10, 24; "With a purple robe they clothed him and they were coming and saying," 19, 2; "He went and was asking," 4, 47; the imperfects in 8, 21 ff.

Now it is peculiarly the idiom of Biblical Aramaic and early Syriac to start a sequence of tenses with the perfect tense and then to continue with the participial construction.[9] The idiom is parallel to the well known Hebrew construction of the waw-consecutive. It is an idiom to which the Aramaic student is immediately sensitive, and in this respect the Gospel is markedly distinct from its Synoptic compeers.

How far the constant lively use of the present tense, e. g., at large in cc. 4, 19, is due to a possibility of good Greek idiom, or how far to the tradition of the equally lively Aramaic participle, I cannot decide. Here the distinction obtains as against the Synoptics.

The futuritive use of the participle is found in 17, 20: "for them believing (present participle) on me through their word", AV correctly, "for them who shall believe", RV pedantically, "who believe". Cf. the similar use of τοὺς σωζομένους in Acts 2, 47, where again rightly AV, "those who should be saved", again RV pedantically (with anti-Calvinistic prepossession!), "those who were being saved". Yet RV recognizes the idiom in Dan. 2, 13: "And the wise men were to be slain".

Another frequent idiom is that of the nominal predicate, e. g., such a sentence as "I am the Vine". In the many cases of this self-assertion of Jesus the wording always is, ἐγώ εἰμι—ἡ ἄμπελος, etc. The use of both pronoun and the predicate verb is hardly Greek, which would generally find one or the other term sufficient. But the usage represents a Semitism, particularly an Aramaism, namely in this case *ena hu gefitta*, which the Greek spells out laboriously by three words, rendering the *hu* "it"

[9] The sense of this idiom later perished, and when possible the Massora has corrected it in Biblical Aramaic. Also in Syriac it is found only in early documents, and is ignored often in the pointing of the Peshitto.

(literally, "I am it, the vine", cf. the similar French idiom), by the predicate verb.[10] This consideration also explains the dominant use of "I" (ἐγώ) in the Gospel—which I had been wont to ascribe to the divine consciousness of Jesus, or that consciousness as alleged by the author. But this explanation is not necessary. John Baptist says equally: "Not *am I* the Christ". It is also to be noted that the constant use of the personal pronoun through the book is due in large part to the Aramaic participial construction which generally required a pronoun. To take an example at hazard: the Baptist says, 3, 28, "Ye witness that I said (εἶπον ἐγώ), Not am I the Christ." WH brackets the first ἐγώ on textual grounds, but I would judge philologically that the apparently superfluous pronoun represents the original Aramaic thought.

Another copula phrase in the Aramaic is to be noted. This is the indeclinable *ith*, which denotes abstract existence, *anglice*, "there is", which can be further defined in tense by the addition of the predicate verb. It looks as if this use, in thought at least, lies behind the extraordinarily large use of the verb "to be" in the Gospel. Note the repetition of the verb in the opening verses of the book, and compare then the Syriac translations. The use of this particle is in general different from the use of the pronoun cited above, although the Greek expresses both by the same verb "to be". But the distinction is to be kept in mind by the exegete. For example in 8, 58 Jesus says: "Before Abraham was I am," ἐγὼ εἰμί. This represents the Aramaic *ena ithai*, or *ithai hewêth*, i. e., the same particle as we might suppose to lie behind the predicate verbs in 1, 1. But above in the same discourse, v. 24, Jesus says: "If ye do not believe that it is I," ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι, where the Aramaic would have *ena ena* ("I am I"). The contexts do not allow question as to the different meanings of the one and the same "I am" in the two texts. Yet the point has bothered the exegetes of the Greek. WH queries whether in v. 24 the Greek should not be accented ἐγὼ εἰμί, i. e., "I *am*," evidently with v. 58 in mind, and RV follows suit in making the latter an alternative marginal reading. A little more knowledge of Aramaic constructions and less scruple about Greek jots and tittles would have allayed the doubts of these scholars.

I have noticed certain usages involving the use of the pronoun, and I may remark here the use, characteristic to this Gospel,

[10] The case is identical with the Eucharistic formula, "This *is* my body."

of the demonstrative ἐκεῖνος, "that one", e. g., 19, 35: "He who saw witnessed and true is his witness, and *that one* knows that he speaks truth, that ye may believe." Thayer's *Lexicon* indicates that much ink has been shed in the dispute whether this is or is not a good Greek use. But the case is not strange to the Aramaist. The Aramaic in this instance would be *hu yada'*, which means "he—*or* that one—is knowing," the one pronoun being both personal and demonstrative.[11]

(*d*) Possible Evidence for an Aramaic Original

Professor Burney, of Oxford, published last year a book on *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, with, as I understand, the thesis that the Gospel is a translation of an Aramaic document. I repeat my sense of caution in accepting any but a fairly rigid demonstration of such a thesis. It is indifferent to my argument whether the book was written in Palestinian Aramaic or by an Aramaic-speaking Palestinian writing in Greek. But the fact that so eminent a scholar has received an impression of the Gospel claiming far more for it than I venture, is a welcome corroboration of my own thesis.[12]

I will, however, present a few cases which have fallen my way where reversion into Aramaic appears to clear up the difficulty. I remind my readers that despite the simplicity of the Gospel there remain in it many dark places, and it will add to our appreciation of the book if we can remove some of the present absurdities, even banalities, of the text. Withal I ask my readers not to regard this section as essential to my argument; indeed I would prefer that they ignore it rather than receive a false idea of my general purpose.

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[11] In translation in Syriac the pronoun *hu* was so far weakened as to represent the Greek article.

[12] I have not followed the criticism of Burney's book. I see that some articles approving it and carrying on the demonstration have appeared in the *Journal of Theological Studies*. Torrey, of Yale, than whom there is no more competent scholar in this field, at the Christmas meeting of the Society of Biblical Exegesis presented some cases which he argued required the hypothesis of an Aramaic original. I understand that his criticism of Burney is that the latter does not demonstrate strongly enough. In the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. 39, p. 232 an inch-long book notice speaks of Burney's book as "an interesting attempt," etc., etc.; "the main thesis may stand" but "his general conclusions as to authors and authority on historic matters of the composition will just as surely fall in the face of considerations other than linguistic, as admirably set forth by B. W. Bacon in his *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*." This reads like an injunction against research and debate.

A simple case in point appears in 8, 44, where the Devil is called "a liar and the father of it". What is the antecedent to the pronoun? Rendered into Semitic idiom the phrase would appear as "the son of the lie and its father",—a drastically satirical utterance.

In 11, 54 Jesus was walking ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις = "in the Jews", but translated "among the Jews". But why not "in Judæa", which word the author well knows. The Peshitto Syriac uses here the idiomatic phrase, *beth Iudaye*, "in the house, i. e., the land of the Jews" (the Curetonian Syriac has stumbled at the clumsy Greek). Samaria is similarly called in the Syriac to Acts *beth Shamraye*. For *beth* the translator may have read or understood *be*, "in", and so produced "in the Jews".

In 8, 45 we read: "But I, because (ὅτι) the truth I speak, you do not believe me". The position of "I" is remarkable, even in emphasis. Now the Aramaic equivalent of "because", *di*, is also the general relative particle. Read accordingly: "But I *who* speak the truth, you do not believe me".

The obviously most difficult passage in the Gospel is found in 8, 25. The Jews said to Jesus, "Who art thou?" Jesus said to them "τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν." RV translates this Greek: "Even that which I also spoke to you at the beginning", with the variant: "How is it (in italics) that I even speak to you at all?" Similarly WH by its varieties of punctuation allows two interpretations, the affirmation and the question. How uncertain and absurd is the Greek! An intelligible Aramaic might be worked out thus: "What was at first (*di bereshith*), what (*di* = represented by ὅτι) also I am saying to you," i. e., I am saying the same thing as from the first. Again the trouble would have arisen over the ambiguousness of the relative particle *di*.

In 12, 49 we read: "The Father who sent me gave me a commandment τί εἴπω καὶ τί λαλήσω, i. e., "what I should say and what I should speak". Rhetorical parallelism, characteristic of the Semitic, might explain this duplication, but the case looks strikingly like a doublet in translation, to be compared with the innumerable doublets in the Septuagint.

I mention here a peculiar usage in the Gospel, rather to raise the question than to answer it. In 4, 6 Jesus "being wearied by the journey was sitting *so* by the well"; and 13, 25: "That one reclining *so* upon Jesus' breast." This double case of οὕτως has,

I think, deeply concerned commentators. In the Peshitto Syriac of the first text the place of this adverb is taken by "to him(self)", following a common Aramaic idiom which follows up certain intransitive verbs with an "ethical dative", e. g., "sit-for-one's-self". If the case occurred only once, I should be inclined to think that the (assumed) Aramaic original of this dative was translated literally αυτω, "to him", which came to be manipulated in the Greek into ουτως. But it is hardly possible that the same error would have been repeated. But an Aramaic original may be found in *kadu*, = *kad hu*, "as he it (he) was", used often in the Latin sense of *iam*. The Greek οὕτως would then be an approximate one-word equivalent.

Above under (*b*) an emendation in part has been offered for 11, 1. The assumption of an Aramaic original would facilitate clearing up the text.

5. THE THEOLOGY OF THE GOSPEL

An immediate impression of the Gospel is its lack of Biblical (Old Testament) citation and its apparent indifference to the Biblical apologetic that marks most of the New Testament books. In WH's table of Old Testament citations Mark is given 7 inches space, Luke 10½, Matthew 12, and John less than 3. The Law is hardly cited. This absence of Biblical allusion may have largely contributed to the current impression of the "Hellenic" origin of the Gospel. All the more striking then is the discovery of the writer's firsthand and intimate knowledge of the Palestinian Judaism of the first century. Any Jew, writing anywhere and to whomsoever—a Paul, a Peter, even a Gentile like Justin Martyr—could use the Septuagint and still possess little knowledge of the actual Judaism of Palestine. But the Judaic knowledge of this book appears to have been derived from immediate acquaintance and was not simulated through booklearning, even that of the Scriptures.[1]

I begin *a principio*. The prime gravamen of the alleged Hellenic origin of the Gospel lies in the initial theologumenon of "the Word, the Logos". For long this was sufficient to convict the character of the whole book. Subsequently—and so I have heard Harnack express himself in lecture—it came to be recognized by some scholars that the introduction of the Gospel is only a *liaison* with Hellenic philosophy, theological speculation being dropped thereafter. However the taste of the portentous Logos-idea has stuck to the palate of many critics ever since.

In contradiction of this assumption I express my unqualified conviction that the Logos is the *Memra* of Jewish theology. The

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[1] My friend Professor Foley has called my attention to a statement made by Professor Burney in a University Sermon entitled *The Old Testament Conception of Atonement Fulfilled by Christ*, preached in 1920 and published by the Oxford Press, in which, p. 4, he asks "Why does he [the author of the Fourth Gospel] prefer to quote the Old Testament from the Hebrew rather than from the Septuagint?" I cannot see that this point can be maintained. The evangelist cites loosely, not as a scholar. The one exception is the citation of Zech. 12, 10, where the Hebrew is followed as against the perverse translation of the Septuagint. But I have reached the conclusion from other studies that this Johannine translation comes from a Palestinian, probably "pre-Theodotionic" translation. The same is probably to be said of the citation in 13, 18; cf. Rendel Harris, *Testimonies*, vol. 2, p. 75.

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Memra ("the word") is the surrogate in the Targums for God in all his contacts with the physical world; in his place the Memra speaks and acts—no modern speculation indeed, for it simply replaces the Angel of the Lord of the oldest Biblical documents. No reader of the Targums can be surprised at the appearance of the term in a Judaic document. In a logical argument this notion of the Logos can be thrown in the scales only after all the other evidence can be weighed. It would only make the baker's dozen.

The Logos occurs elsewhere in the New Testament only in the intensely Semitic Apocalypse,[2] in which, 19, 13, the Rider on the White Horse is given the name, The Word of God. Bousset, following the lead of predecessors, stamps the name as a spurious alteration—a fine example of wilful criticism. This apocalyptic figure of the militant Logos has its Judaic background in the Book of Wisdom 18, 15 ff, where God's "all-powerful Word", ὁ παντοδύναμός σου λόγος, is described in epic fashion as leaping like a warrior, πολεμιστής, into the midst of this naughty world. The theologumenon of the Word is Biblical, appearing in an unrecognized instance in 1 Sam. 3, 21,[3] while the personification of the Word goes back into ancient Babylonian religion.[4]

In connection with the Word are to be noticed the Biblical "in the beginning", v. 1, and "tabernacled," v. 14, the latter based on the Old Testament idea of the Lord's Presence *dwelling* in the temple, the later Shekinah—while now it has come in the flesh! The preposition in πρὸς τὸν θεόν with the accusative, while exemplified in the Septuagint, has its exact equivalent in the Aramaic *lewâth*, and so the Syriac translations here.

An actual Targumic expression appears in 12, 4, where after citing from Is. 6 the writer proceeds: "These things said Isaiah when he saw his Glory and he spake about him." "The Glory of the Lord," *yekâra dadonai*, is the term used in place of "YHWH"

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[2] The several philological correspondences noted in the course of this essay between the Gospel and the Apocalypse argue nothing for common authorship; but they add to the demonstration of the Semitic background of the Gospel.

[3] "And the Lord again appeared in Shiloh, for the Lord was revealed to Samuel in Shiloh *in the Word of the Lord.*" This is a dogmatic addition precising the method of the revelation.

[4] See Zimmern and Winckler, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, p. 608, note 6.

in the Targum to Is. 6, 1.[5] It was impossible for the later theology to think of a human seeing the Lord Himself. And the process of alleviating the difficulty has already begun in the Massoretic text, most manuscripts of which have substituted "Adonai" for "YHWH", which latter however is still found in some hundred manuscripts.

The doctrine of the Logos leads naturally to the discussion of the Messianism of the Gospel. In this respect the book is not only fuller but more explicitly correspondent to the Judaistic notions than the Synoptics. The title "the Lord", ὁ κύριος, which many regard as an epithet of Gentile origin and so of later application to Jesus,[6] appears only three times in the pre-Resurrection narrative and six times in the post-Resurrection scenes.[7] Withal the Gospel is deliberately Messianic and so Judaic in its conception of Jesus.

There is the unique etymology of "Christ" = "Messiah"; the acquaintance with the popular theories and disputations: whether John is the Christ; that the Messiah should come from Bethlehem, 7, 42; the uncertainty as between the Christ and Elijah and "the Prophet", 1, 20 f; the contention over Jesus whether he is the Prophet or the Christ, 7, 41 f; compare 6, 14, where he is hailed as the Prophet that is to come into the world. Even the Messianic expectations of the Samaritan woman, c. 4, are corroborated by our knowledge of the Samaritan religion, which had its Messianic doctrine of a Ta'eb, a Restorer.[8] Only

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[5] This Targumic parallel is insisted upon by Rendel Harris in his *Testimonies*, vol. 2, p. 74. He adds: "It is almost the only instance where the Targum is cited in the New Testament." The whole of the chapter, c. 8, "Testimonies in the Gospel of John," is pertinent to the present discussion. Of course in the present case "his" relates to "God," "Glory," like the Word, is identified with the Messiah.

[6] See Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, for this contention. As in many other cases of the present argument there appears to be prejudice according as the subject is approached from the Hellenic or the Judaic standpoint. The Old Testament student naturally finds the genealogy of "the Lord" as applied to Jesus in the very process of thought we have just observed above, in the substitution of "the Lord" for "YHWH", as in Is. 6, 1, as equally the substitution of "the Glory", etc. The determined change of word meant a theological difference. But the subject is too lengthy to follow here.

[7] 4, 1; 6, 23; 11, 2. The first of these cases is critically questionable; some MSS and the Syriac translations read "Jesus".

[8] See my *Samaritans*, p. 243 ff. We can trace the Samaritan notion back as far as Justin Martyr. See also, A. Merx, *Der Messias oder Ta'eb der Samaritaner*, Beiheft xvii of *Zeitschrift f. d. altestamentliche Wissenschaft* (1909), who gives texts of Samaritan Messianic hymns with an abstract of their contents, and, pp. 43 ff, a discussion of the Ta'eb doctrine.

once do we find the later combination, "Jesus Christ", 17, 3; otherwise always "the Christ". The final confession of him is that "Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God," 20, 31.

Almost every one of the Messianic titles is corroborated in the Jewish literature. For "the Son of Man" there is the evidence of Enoch and the Synoptics; for "the Son of God", Ps. 2 (cf. the application, Heb. 1, 5), Enoch c. 105 (if this last chapter is original), the Synoptics, and 2 Esdras 7, 28. 29 (also 14, 9). For the ascription "the Holy One of God" there is the Synoptic tradition, Mk. 1, 24. Only the title "the Saviour of the world", 4, 42, is not so corroborated. We may compare Is. 39, 6, according to which the Servant of the Lord is made "a light of the Gentiles, to be my salvation to the ends of the earth"—to be sure hardly possible as an allusion in the mouth of a Samaritan.[84a]

John Baptist's confession of Jesus as "the Lamb (ἀμνός) of God that taketh away the sin of the world," 1, 29. 36, has its parallel in the frequent epithet for him as "the Lamb"(ἀρνίον) in Rev., e. g., 5, 6. 8. 12, etc. The symbolism belongs to the essence of Jewish apocalyptic; compare not only the Lion of Judah but also the white Ox with great black horns, Enoch 90, 37 f., who is without doubt the Messiah. I may note, without vouchsafing an opinion, that Charles, ed. 2, *ad loc.*, following Goldschmidt, sees in the Ethiopic text a perversion of its original and reads "lamb" for "ox." The moment of the atoning virtue of the Messiah is

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[84a] The title "Saviour of the world" was attributed to the Roman emperors, first to Julius Cæsar; see Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, p. 369. But in his limitation of treatment Deissmann leaves rather a wrong impression. The title "Saviour" did not begin with the Roman empire; it was distinctly Oriental, the title to Julius having been given by an Anatolian city, while it goes back to the origins of the Hellenistic empires. The second Ptolemy and the second Seleucid had the cognomen Soter, i. e. Savior. The epithet was due to the transference of Oriental religious terms to the deified monarchs of Hellenism. I may refer to a most attractive monograph by Lietzmann, *Der Weltheiland*, Bonn, 1909; the subject has been treated at length by Wendland in *Zeits. f. neutest. Wissenschaft*, 1904, pp. 335 ff., and his *Hellenistisch-römische Kultur*, pp. 73 ff, 87 ff. The title for Christ is confined to the later books of the N. T., except for the Lucan writings: Luke 2, 11; Acts 5, 31; 13, 23; n. b. documents of Semitic source. How far was the delay in the propagation of this title due to antipathy to the Pagan usage? Such antipathies were very marked in Judaism, e. g., the early abandonment of "Baal" as a title of God, or the preference in the LXX of Daniel for "Lord of heaven" in preference to the actual but Pagan-sounding "God of heaven." While I would be the last to press the literal accuracy of the conversations in this story, it may be noted that it was a woman in the preponderantly Pagan community of Samaria who used this title; just as it was in the same community that the Apostles had their first encounter with Hellenistic syncretism.

illustrated from the story of the Ethiopian eunuch, Acts 8, who is found studying the interpretation of Is. 53, 7: "He was led as a sheep to the slaughter," etc. All this is good Judaism of the first century.

Probably most particularly Hellenic sounds the epithet of the Word as the Light, c. 1. This has been regarded as a bit of the Western intellectualism and theosophy; accordingly when it is found in Jesus' self-assertion, "I am the Light of the world," 8, 12; 9, 5, its originality is denied. Yet in the Hebraic document of the Infancy History in Luke it is a Messianic designation, based on the Messianically interpreted phrase "a light to lighten the Gentiles," Is. 40, 5, which is similarly treated in Acts 13, 47. And we know from a Rabbinic source that Light was a Messianic name. In the classical Midrash or commentary on Lamentations, *Ekhah*, fol. 36, col. 2 (Wilna ed.), are listed some of the names of Messiah: Shiloh (Gen. 49, 10), Haninah ("mercy," Jer. 16, 13), Yinnon ("his [the Messiah's] name *shall continue*"—an obscure word, mystically treated, Ps. 72, 17). To these are added Rabbi Biba's dictum that "his name is the Light, as it is said (Dan. 2, 22), The Light dwelleth with Him." My friend Professor Margolis has called my attention to the collection of Messianic interpretations of the "light" in *Pesikta Rabba* (commentary on the lections), at Is. 60, 1; of this passage the hymn in Eph. 5, 14 is a similar interpretation.

There also occur some subtle reminiscences of current Jewish Messianism. The difficult expression, "eating the flesh of the Son of God", generally interpreted as breathing the ultra-sacramentalism of a later age, is illustrated from the Talmud, where we find the expression, "eating the flesh of the Messiah", to be explained as of the appropriation of the Messiah's spiritual gifts.[9] The statement, 5, 22, "All judgment is given to the Son of Man", is paralleled by Enoch 69, 24: "The sum of judgment was given unto the Son of Man." Also 14, 23: "If anyone love me he will keep my commandment, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him and make our abode with him," may be compared with Enoch c. 105: "I and my Son will be united with them forever in the paths of uprightness."

These references are a very casual collection. Many more parallels can doubtless be gathered from the compends of John

[9] Sanhedrin 99a; cf. Spitta, *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristentums*, p. 331, who refers also to Weber, *Neue Beiträge*, pp. 271, 277.

Lightfoot, Schöttgen, Weber, Edersheim, Dalman (*Worte Jesu*), etc.

The absence of the idea of "the Kingdom of God" in the Gospel is a commonplace of remark. The term occurs but once, 3, 5, in connection with the birth "of water and blood". *Per contra*, it is worthy of note that the Messianic title of King is given to Jesus by Nathanael, 1, 49; that this Gospel alone knows of the purpose of the people to make him King, 6, 15—a lurid flash of the actual Messianism of Palestine; that Jesus accepted the acclaim of the people as "King of Israel", 12, 13, upon his Paschal entry into Jerusalem; that while Jesus is represented as ignoring Pilate's inquiry, "Art thou a king?", 18, 37, by phrasing his mission as that of the truth, nevertheless Pilate's satirical title for the cross, "Jesus the Nazarene the King of the Jews", is fully insisted on, 19, 19 ff. We must seek, it may be, the personal factors in the writer's mind for his general avoidance of a term which he was fully cognizant of and at times allowed. Was it that he had known the national Messianism down to its dregs, and would replace its phrasing with more spiritual terms?[10] For him the contrast was not between the "kingdoms", but as between "this world" and another world, e. g., 8, 23, and herein he was actually expressing the current Jewish contrast between "this world" (*ha 'olam hazzeh*) and "the world to come" (*ha 'olam habba*).[11]

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[10] The notion of the Kingdom of God has had its sway for the past generation, largely under the influence of F. D. Maurice. But I observe that some of our more "democratic" theologians are stumbling over the idea of a king as most undemocratic, and so we may expect another shift in the fashion of religion. May there not have been fashions of thought in the Apostolic Age?

[11] The preponderant use of "the world", ὁ κόσμος, in this Gospel is well-known. Conversely "aeon" and "aeonian" are comparatively rare, always in the Biblical sense of time. In this Gospel "world" appears to replace "aeon", and represents the current Jewish use of *'olam*, not only in the phrases cited above (cf. possibly Eccl. 3, 11; Ben Sira 3, 18; 16, 17), but also in the Palmyrene dialect and in Syriac, e. g., Aphraates. Both uses of *'olam* as "world" and as "aeon" or "eternity" ran along aside of each other. For example, in Eccl. 12, 5 "man goeth to his eternal house" *beth 'olam* (AV superbly, "his long home"), and so the grave is still called by the Jews; *vice versa*, in Syriac, e. g., the Edessene Chronicle, death is spoken of as a departure "from the world," *men 'alma*. Possibly the use of the word in the former sense was Hebraic, in the latter Aramaic. There has been an extensive discussion of the word as it appears in the Oriental religions, as antique as "Yahweh God of *'olam*," Gen. 21, 33; for this discussion Cumont may be consulted, *Oriental Religions in the Roman Empire*, chap. 5, with some of the bibliography given in note 73. I do not know whether the point I have made about *kosmos* has been recognized by others; Bousset, in his otherwise excellent treatment of *aeon*, *Religion des Judentums*, ed. 1, pp. 231 ff, ignores it

There remains a group of abstract philosophic ideas which have availed much in clinching the superficial impression of the Hellenism of the Gospel. We may take for example, "I am the way, the truth and the life." The first term of course is Jewish; it is the *halâkah* of later Judaism. Jesus announces, if you will, that he is the true *halâkah* as against the Pharisaic nomism. The two other terms appear rather Hellenic. Yet we recall the doubtless originally Aramaic Story of the Three Pages in I Esdras 3–4, with its classical climax, "The truth is mighty and will prevail", 4, 38, etc. The abstract idea of life, along with that of light, equally appears in the Old Testament, Ps. 36, 9: "With thee is the well of life and in thy light shall we see light;" cf. Dan. 2, 22, cited above. In a word it is only gross ignorance which denies to the Semite the capacity of abstractions and their expression.

I may note one Hebraistic interpretation of an obscure word that has recently been proposed by Prof. W. H. P. Hatch.[12] It is in the passage 16, 8: "He will convict the world of sin and of righteousness and of judgment", in which Hatch most reasonably proposes that "righteousness" is to be taken in the Hebrew, as well as Pauline, sense of "justification, salvation".

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[12] *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. 14 (1921), pp. 103 ff.

CONCLUSION

The end of my argument is this: That the Gospel of St. John is the composition of a well-informed Jew, not of the Pharisaic party, whose life experience was gained in Palestine in the first half of the first century, and whose mother-tongue was Aramaic; and that this conclusion alone explains the excellence of the historical data and the philological phenomena of the book—unless, indeed, with Burney, we must argue to a translation from an Aramaic original.

What was in the beginning
what we have heard
what we have seen with our eyes
what we have beheld and our hands have felt
about the Word of Life

And the Life was manifested
and we have seen and witness and report to you
the Eternal Life
which was with the Father
and was manifested to us

What we have seen and heard
report we also unto you
that ye may have fellowship with us
and our fellowship is with the Father
and with His Son Jesus Christ

And these things write we unto you
That our joy may be fulfilled.

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